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unhappy for a while even as among us, but soon he will forget her and fall in love with a less recalcitrant girl.

Should the man be accepted, the affair may be developed into attachment that will in most cases lead to marriage. It is not infrequent that the couple may live together – *gendak* – before marriage, although not exactly in sin, since *gendak* is permitted as a sort of a trial marriage, not yet made legal in public and before the gods. Often in a prearranged marriage the couple is allowed *gendak*, and there are regulations that protect the woman against desertion and that make children born in the *gendak* period legal. Even among the more puritanical Bali Agas *gendak* appears in the traditional village law, as in the following excerpt from the law of the village of Lumbuan in the Bangli mountains:

". . . the *desa* orders a man accused of intimacy with a woman to take her as wife, making the offerings and ceremonies mentioned above. Should the man refuse to marry her, he has to pay the *penyeheb* (a roast pig) and *tumbakan* (a cow), while the woman will pay only the *tumbakan* to clear her impurity and the pollution of the village (*sebel*). Should there result a child, it belongs to the woman. If it is not known who the man was, the woman is responsible and must provide the *penyeheb* and *tumbakan* within an allotted time." (*Bawanagara*, T. 11, No. 8/9, 1933.)

This attitude must not be interpreted as one of promiscuity; the Balinese like to marry young, and a man after love has usually marriage in view. However, a girl is not too easily persuaded and puts off her suitors, often too long, and the boy is either bored and leaves her or is obliged to use stronger methods.

Shy people who are after success in love may employ the services of professional matchmakers (*tjetí*) or those of a magician to make a reluctant girl yield. To appear beautiful in the eyes of a desired person certain amulets are employed, most often ancient Javanese bronze disks with a hole in the centre like Chinese coins, which are carried on the belt. Those used by men (*pipis ardjuna*) have an image in low relief of their semi-divine,

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839 land. Bestiality is so horrifying to the Balinese that they can only explain it as bewitchment on the part of the man, to whom the animal appears as a beautiful woman.

MARRIAGE

184 58 As with everything in Bali, marriage customs differ from district to district and from caste to caste; from marriages by free choice, and others prearranged by the parents, to kidnapping with violence. Often what is commonplace in one village is unknown in another, and no general rule can be established that applies to the entire island. I shall attempt, therefore, to give only a general outline of marriage practices and to note what we had opportunity to observe in the districts in which we lived: Badung and Gianyar. It is in detail, however, that the ceremonies vary; the fundamental principles for the different sorts of marriage remain the same everywhere.

584 583 *Ngrorod.* In Bali the honeymoon usually precedes the wedding; the average boy in love with a girl makes his marriage arrangements directly with her, and outside of his father, perhaps, and a few friends from whom he needs help, he keeps his intentions secret until the day, previously agreed upon between the boy and girl, when he will steal her. Shy couples simply run away together to the house of a friend, as a rule in another village, where they spend their honeymoon in hiding. But the Balinese love spectacular kidnappings. The girl arranges for her clothes to be taken secretly to their future hide-out, and on the appointed day she is captured somewhere on the road, in the fields, or in the river by the kidnapping party, led by her suitor. She is expected to kick and bite her abductors in sham self-defence, and although there may be witnesses, no one would dream of interfering, unless they are relatives of the girl, in which case they are supposed to put up a great fight. In Den Pasar it is stylish to rush the girl away by hired motor-car.

584 683 At her home, as soon as her disappearance is discovered, her

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of her ancestral gods and adopts her husband's. The emissaries go to the girl's house wearing krisses and in refined language they point to the virtues of the boy, to his good intentions, and to the advantages of the union. Reluctantly the girl's father gives in, but not until the amount of the "bride-purchase" money (*patumbas wadon*) has been settled. I was told in Den Pasar that the sum may vary from ten thousand to forty thousand *kepeng*, eight to thirty-two *ringgit* (silver dollars)[6] or even to as much as a hundred *ringgit*, which in normal times would be equivalent to 125,000 *kepeng*, quite a fortune for people that buy with *kepeng* the daily necessities of life.[7]

Mapadik. It may happen that the head of a prominent family of caste requests the daughter of a friend or relative as wife for his son to bring two great families closer together by a bond of blood. Such prearranged marriages are decided upon at times when the boy and the girl are still children, and the marriage is performed as soon as possible after the girl comes of age and before they fall in love with someone else. This must not be misconstrued as a form of the much publicized child-marriage of India; such marriages are rare, they do not take place until the girl is a woman, there is no law that enforces them, and there is

[6] Normally a *ringgit* is worth one gold dollar: two and a half guilders. There were 500 *kepeng* in one guilder in 1930, although in 1933 the Dutch guilder had gone up to 700 *kepeng*.

[7] In Buleléng brides are more expensive than in South Bali; Lieffrink stated the price there as from 400 to 600 *ringgit*, and Van Eck put it between 100 guilders to 600 (or from 40 to 240 *ringgit*), but Dr. Korn, the latest authority, mentions in his *Adatrecht* that in Balinese law documents the sum is seldom above 20,000 *kepeng* (16 *ringgit*), and consequently the price would be lower for a girl of low caste. The price is further depreciated for widows, the divorced, and so forth, while the rate goes up to foreigners, for palace women, or in case of forceful kidnapping. Perhaps the rate is exaggerated and it is possible that brides are getting cheaper with the gradual impoverishment of Bali. It is not without reason that Korn believes that the ransom money cannot be taken literally as a price for the girl, since the trousseau she takes along is often more valuable than the money paid for her. The ransom for a widow is not paid to her parents but to her parents-in-law. In prearranged marriages (*mapadik*) there is no ransom money, since many presents and personal services are made by the bridegroom to the girl's father. There is no money paid if the bride's father has no male descendants and he wishes to adopt his son-in-law as a *sentana*, a legitimate son for the purpose of inheritance. Korn suggests that the money is paid rather as ransom to the house gods and not to the parents.

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yellow, and white string, weighted at the ends with *kepengs*. These were passed under the arms and across the backs of the bride and groom, the four ends held by the priest while he recited a prayer. Then the ends of the ropes were crossed over their chests and thrown back. The priest gave the couple a ladle of holy water to drink, and continued praying while the couple fanned towards themselves the essence of the prayer, doing the same again when the priest held in front of them a bundle made of the coloured ropes, which in the meantime had been removed by the attendants. The ceremony concluded with a long prayer (*maweda*) performed by the priest towards *kangin*; a combination of Sanskrit formulas recited silently, accompanied by swift and intricate gestures of the hands, alternated with ringing a bell and flinging away various sorts of flowers. After the purification the banquet was served and the guests spent the rest of the night watching plays and dances.

The woman " follows " the man and lives in his home. Either the eldest or the youngest son inherits the paternal home, but other sons usually build a house of their own on an empty lot given by the village to a newly-wed couple. The first duty of the man is then to build a temporary *sanggah kemulan*, his family shrine, made of bamboo and thatch, which is replaced later on by a more solid structure of brick and wood, when the old one has fallen into decay. It may happen, however, that a man commits *nyebuhin*, going to live in the house of the girl with whom he is infatuated. A man who runs after a girl in this manner is disgraced; he loses all rights to the paternal home and lives as a servant of the girl's family. The opposite may also happen and a *ngungahin* marriage takes place, when a girl, supposedly bewitched, forces herself upon a man.

Ordinarily there is at home a strong feeling of equality, of politeness, and friendly frankness in the relationship between husband and wife, and the woman is by no means the proverbial slave of Oriental countries. She is well aware of her rights, she

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1. Infants. New born infants are regarded as close to the gods, and there is no special differentiation as to sex. All children up to the age of losing their first teeth, *tonden meketoes*, are thought of in this particularly holy category.

2. Children. Small men, *anak tjenik*, are children of any age up until they reach the age and maturity to be able to take on adult's work.

3. Men and Women. Adolescence is institutionalized in some of the old style villages, where the *trocna*, virgin boys, and *daha*, virgin girls, have a specific role to play in ritual, but on the whole this distinction has dropped out of the organization of the usual village. Boys and adult men and old men perform the same function in ceremonial, classed under the heading of males, *anak mocwani;* young girls and matrons and old crones dance in the same temple dances and prepare the same offerings, under the heading of females, *anak loch*.

4. Old People. Only the very old, those who are too old to work, to serve as the head of the household in the case of a man, are spoken of as grandfather, *pekak*, or grandmother, *dadong*. The toothless old are thought of as near to small children, and the transition through death and disintegration and back into life again in the form of a new babe is a conception readily acceptable and universally held. The great difference from the Hinduistic orthodox position is that the Balinese as a people do not believe that a soul may be reborn into any but its own ancestral line: it must return within the family, and this precludes the notion of being reborn into a higher caste.

The absence of particularly marked puberty rites, initiation ceremonies and the like, such as are common in the whole of southeast Asia at a more primitive level of development, is of special interest for the reason that rites reminiscent of Borneo and New Guinea are still to be found in some old style villages (Troenjan or Trunyan,[2] for example, or again, Tenganan Pagringsingan[3]). In the more developed, more typical Balinese village the line is not drawn between young folk and older people on the point of virginity, for in fact premarital unions are the rule, and very often a marriage is not celebrated until the girl is pregnant. The ability to bear a child, preferably a son, is in this fashion assured. Whether marriages are arranged or are love matches, the change of status from unmarried to married is marked by the carrying off of the bride (*ngerorod*), a pattern which has come down from the past, actually an enactment of marriage by capture. Like our custom of carrying a bride over a doorstep, or of throwing rice at the bridal pair, the customs persist in the folk ways though their meaning has, to a

[2] Spies, 1933.
[3] Korn, 1933.

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great extent, been forgotten. Only on the symbolic level do they remain true and valid for the culture which practices them; they are the ways through which the underlying ethos of the culture is expressed, through which it lives and continues to perpetuate itself.

Every married pair may constitute a household, a *koeren*, the unit of the village or ward (*bandjar*). Usually, in a household of a number of children, one of the sons remains in the paternal house while the others move out and set up establishments of their own as they come to maturity and marry. The paternal house passes to the son who remains at home; as the old man reaches the age of superannuation it is this son who represents the household at the village meetings and who does the work apportioned by the village, the temple, the irrigation unit (*soebak*), or the higher authority of the district official government. It is characteristic of the Balinese system that it is the youngest son, not the eldest, who remains at home and inherits the father's house.

Age and Sex Typing. The Balinese have their own special view of the distinction between the sexes and of the differences or lack of differences between them at different times in the cycle of life. The most important point is the complementariness of the sexes, male and female together making up an entity, completing each other. Like the Chinese *yin* and *yang*, the theme male and female (*loch mocwani*) is endlessly repeated and recurrent in every context from the description of the gods to the terms for a carpenter's joining. But, beside this complementariness, there are areas where the distinction between the sexes seems quite irrelevant, the two sexes are interchangeable. Thus, though it is a patrilineal society, and a man must have a son to carry on his ancestral line, if he has no son, a daughter will do. The daughter then substitutes for the son. Various sorts of priestly functions may be carried out by women as well as by men; diviners, healers of one sort or another, godly spokesmen, all these are as likely to be male as female—the women have no monopoly here over hysterical manifestations. Little child dancers may be boys, or girls, or boys dressed as girls, or girls dressed as boys. There is a happy indeterminacy in all of these roles. In the very young, and in the very old, the difference in sex is of no consequence.

Only for purposes of mating is it felt necessary to keep the two sexes distinct. During the years of young courtship there is rather more emphasis on the difference between male and female. There are divisions of labor, between men's work and women's work, which serve to emphasize the difference as the skills are being acquired, but, once a young man and a young girl are married, they form a unit, a "household" (*koeren*) in which either one may act for the pair. They are like partners, of whom either one can

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Klepoeg's first wife seems to have been unsatisfactory, and was divorced. She had no children. Neither did her successor, Gijoer. Klepoeg obtained an heir by adopting the son of his brother. On Krèbèk, who moved away to another district, we have no information beyond the fact of his marrying twice.

It is of course impossible to draw any conclusions on polygyny from such a limited study. The cases mentioned only illustrate how the taking of a second wife is more strongly motivated by the need for sons than by an affectional urge towards the woman. It would be expected that the young men for whom initial marriages have been arranged would later wish to exercise an independent choice. But, as we have seen, even the second marriage may be an arranged one, between cousins. The Balinese say that a poor man who has one good wife can ill afford to take another. As a rule any wife who is not unfaithful, and who has borne a son, is considered "good." It is the son, in Balinese culture, who is of most importance—a social and religious necessity.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS

It is generally said of Bali that marriage is by abduction, the husband subsequently making a payment to the bride's father, varying from 10,000 to 50,000 kepengs (value approximately 12 to 65 Dutch guilders). It is true that this custom is widespread, and prevalent in the districts around Den Pasar and Boeleleng, the big townships. It may be found surprising that no such marriage is mentioned in the study of Rendah's family. There is much evidence to show that the form of arranged marriage practiced in Rendah's family, planned to link the households of relatives and friends, and without monetary compensation, is the older and more characteristic procedure. In fact, the old men of Sajan say that in their generation (before the Dutch occupation) girls were often stolen from one village by the young men of an enemy village, but that, instead of the husband's making a payment to the bride's father, the father would make a payment to the young man so that the girl should be returned to her village and the marriage dissolved. To have one's daughter marry in a hostile village was to lose sight of her completely. They say that if the match is suitable the father asks no payment, and only if he were angry would he require compensation of the bridegroom. Cynical and commercial-minded young men of the towns say, "the father always manages to be angry, so that he will get the money."[7] But for the old-fashioned people of Sajan this is not true.

[7] Certainly it is considered decorous for the father to at least pretend anger at the ravishing of his daughter, just as the girl herself must weep and struggle to escape at the time of her capture, even though she has previously agreed, and helped to plot that capture.

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Rendah said to me, on the occasion of his daughter's marriage to her cousin, whose house is across the street, "I would rather roegi [take a financial loss] than to have my child marry away from home. If she married in another village, I should have the money, but my heart would be sick."

Such a remark, reflecting a sentiment of paternal devotion, must not be taken only at its face value. The Balinese, like other races, often say things which "sound well," but do not render their complete thought process, and are therefore misleading. It is not to be assumed that a man like Rendah, in giving away his daughter to her cousin, is actually casting to the winds a profit of ten or twenty thousand kepengs, having weighed them as nothing beside the possibility of losing sight of his child. Certainly he would prefer to have her near home. But to have her marry into a family with which he already has an established relation of favors given and received is more satisfactory than to set up a new link with a family of comparative strangers. And if he should accept compensation, he would be sanctioning a system which would not profit him in the end, for might not his own sons then have to pay for their brides? It would seem that these indebtedness relations are best carried on within the family group.

In connection with this it must be mentioned that sister-exchange between parallel cousins, maternal or paternal, is not permitted. This statement was made to me by various informants. None mentioned the prohibition of sister-exchange between cross-cousins, nor between unrelated families. I did not find any reference to sister-exchange in Balinese texts. The term used for the forbidden sister-exchange of parallel cousins is malik-terbalik, meaning a reversal, a going and coming. Malik may be a Balinese form of the root balik, although balik or walik are those commonly used in other connections; terbalik is definitely a Malay form, foreign to the Balinese language.[1] But as many informants speak Malay fluently, and consider it a more polite usage to foreigners, the form of the term is not a proof of the late introduction of the taboo.

The difference in the two marriage schemes, that of the arranged marriage as against the marriage by abduction, reflects on the divorce. A woman may be "thrown away" by her husband for various reasons: she is barren, quarrelsome, or unfaithful. She may either return to her father's house, or, if she has a lover, marry him. Whether or not a payment has been made to the father, the father does not have to make any restitution to the husband in case the marriage fails. But the lover or second husband must in either case pay compensation money to the wronged husband. This is rather more expensive than the cost of an unmarried girl, for besides the cost of the woman, a fine must be paid to the community.

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626 This is part of the old village law, now taken over by the courts—a sort of
586 punishment and compensation for disturbing the "balance" of the social
587 group. I have known a case of an unusually fickle woman, who passed from one husband to another in such rapid succession that none had had time to pay for her before being deserted. Husband No. 4 found himself sued for a sum in which each of her previous husbands had a share: No. 4 was to pay No. 3, who owed No. 2, who still had not paid No. 1. The father also had a claim, but with faint hopes of recovery.

586 A wife who is maltreated by her husband has the option of returning to her family, where she will be graciously received if they do not consider her in the wrong. At the present time, if she can prove her husband's delinquency in the courts, she may obtain some right over the children. However, even under the old regime, a husband has been known to allow the wife to bring up the children in a separate establishment, although they are considered chiefly his, and the descendants of his ancestral line.

583 There was the case of a girl for whom a marriage was arranged with
584 her cousin, the son of her father's elder brother. Her father had died, leaving his wife with four girls and a baby boy, and no one to provide for them. The cousin's branch owned house and land, whereas the girl's family had nothing, not even the space on which their house stood. Her father had occupied the land as tenant-farmer to the Tjokordā, and after his death, as there was no man left to till it, the land was forfeit. Obviously the marriage of the eldest daughter to her cousin would have been advantageous, and all her relations urged her to agree to it. The wealthy branch could have advanced the money needed to buy the land on which her house stood, and thus saved the house for her mother and sisters, and eventually a heritage for the small brother. But the girl resisted all persuasion to the match. Finally the grandmother resorted to a ruse. She came to the girl, asking her to prepare medicine for her cousin, lying ill with a fever. The girl collected the necessary herbs and spices, pounded them together, and brought them to her cousin's house. Although she hated him, she could
[602] not refuse to help a relative in illness.

"He lies within," said the grandmother, indicating the metèn, the room enclosed with walls. "Take it in to him."

The girl entered the room. At once the old woman pulled the door to, and bolted it on the outside. The young man leapt up from the couch to embrace his unwilling bride.

583 For several days the girl was kept a prisoner. When they began to relax
586 their vigilance, she ran away, but her cousins always pursued her, and brought her back. They believed that once used to the young man, she

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would give in. After a time she did relent, and when a month had passed, agreed to the purification ceremony, mesakapan, which solemnizes a marriage. But within three days of the ceremony she could stand no more, and again escaped. It was too late to return to her home, especially as her mother and sisters had been in favor of the marriage from the beginning. She ran away to the town, where she lives at the present time, kept by an Arab merchant.

This case suggests that the women can, and sometimes do, rebel against marriages arranged with their cousins. Certainly with the peaceful times under the Dutch administration, when it is safe to visit other villages without fearing assault, and the increased freedom of communication by motor-bus and bicycle, the young people are more apt to resist an unwelcome marriage. There is infinitely more opportunity for a free choice, based on mutual attraction, than there was. In the old days, living in the enforced isolation of the village surrounded by hostile camps, if a girl refused her cousin or neighbor she might get no husband at all. Also, she was the more likely to be pleased with him, so few were the youths of her acquaintance with whom she might compare him.

We have seen that marriages of first and second cousins, both maternal and paternal, are frequent, and that no special distinction is made between parallel and cross-cousins. In Balinese the name for them is the same: misan, first cousin, mindon, second cousin, whether paternal or maternal, whether cross or parallel. Marriages of third cousins are more difficult to trace, as there is no term for them other than the general term for brother, relative, njamă (low Balinese), semotonan (high Balinese).

The ordinary incest taboos are as follows: a man may not have sexual connection with his mother, his sister, his half-sister, or the mother of his half-sister or half-brother (that is, his mother's co-wife). The penalty for this first degree incest, according to records of ancient adat, includes immediate banishment from the formal limits of the village, a great purification ceremony with animal offering to the bad spirits, and sometimes a rite whereby the offending pair are dressed in the yokes worn by pigs, and made to approach on all fours and drink out of a pig's drinking trough.[1] Subsequently the two are to be banished from the village for life and their lands confiscated. As such banishment in the old days left them no recourse but to wander off in the jungle, there to be hunted by wild beasts or to face death from starvation, the punishment amounted in fact to a death sentence. No other village would take in people banished from their own

[1] Recorded as part of the adat of the village Boeoengan, district of Bangli (Ida Bagoes Made Hadipta in Bhāwanāgara, Nos. 4-5, 1933, p. 71).

[104 cont.]

634 For his exertions on behalf of the soebak, the klian some-
312 times receives a double portion of irrigation water, and, as tax
[651 collector, he receives a part of the income from taxes.
465]

At the head of a number of soebak in one or more dèsa is the sedahan temboekoe, who stands above the various klian and supervises the distribution of the water. At the same time, he looks after the taxes for the prince. Above all of them is the head of the whole water supply, the sedahan agoeng, who holds regular monthly meetings with the several sedahan temboekoe. In 1882, when (in Buleleng) direct governmental administration was introduced, the sedahan temboekoe received a monthly salary of 130 guilders and the title of subcollector.

611 Family Law. On Bali and the Balinese portion of Lombok
[614] (western Lombok) one can speak of a patriarchal family system, but there is no longer any trace of clan divisions. There is
564 another dividing line, however, that of the caste system. The greatest cleavage is that between the members of the three highest castes, the triwangsa, descendants of overlords, on the one hand, and the soedra, the subjects, on the other. It is a rule
[582] that a man may not marry a woman of higher caste; he may, however, marry a woman of lower caste. One may thus in part speak here of true endogamy, the prohibition against marrying outside of one's group, in this case outside of one's class or caste. Otherwise the marriage and inheritance laws have more in com-
● 583 mon with those of patriarchal exogamy: the custom of bride
611 price, descent reckoned in the male line (for determining caste
423 membership, only that of the man is considered), inheritance rights only for the male relatives in the male line, while the
[587] woman is, in theory, part of the inheritance, although this has not led to levirate marriage.

Formerly, in the case of a death without heirs, the inheritance, after debts and the cost of cremation had been deducted, went to the dèsa association, later to the prince. This led [105]
833 to very sad consequences; the wives and daughters moved to the
428 royal residence and were simply sent out as prostitutes to increase

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Javanese OE5

B 833 428 [177 643] [105 cont.] the income of the prince. With the disappearance of royal rule on Bali and Lombok, this evil, the so-called mandjing system, came to an end.

B 586 692 Divorce is possible on Bali, either by unilateral repudiation on the part of the man or by mutual agreement. The divorce decree can also be promulgated by the native court, the council of Kerta.

B 583 A special feature of Balinese marriage is that the bride price, which is usually very large, is actually paid only in exceptional cases; this form of marriage is called mepadik. More commonly the girl is abducted; this abduction, which takes place with the prior knowledge of the girl and her parents, is called merangkat and serves as an escape from all the formalities and heavy payments involved in a bride price marriage. A sacrificial repast is sufficient atonement for the offense against the adat and to avert any possible evil consequences. If the father is recalcitrant, it appears that bride price has to be paid, but in this case it is a smaller one. A bride price four times as high as the normal one has to be paid after a melegandang, an abduction against the will of the girl. Apart from that, the young man must flee with the girl to another village and stay there in hiding for a time. Formerly, the members of the girl's family were even allowed to kill the young man if they caught him within a certain period of time.

B [689 671] [681]

J 101 174 J 621 J 592 596 J 621 e. Java. We are now approaching Java, the island where, for many reasons, native society is most highly developed (seen, that is, from our Western point of view), and therefore the only jurisdictional communities, except for the independent, native associations, the dèsa, are territorial units. The household [gezin, household or nuclear family] is of great importance, as it is everywhere, but it is not a jurisdictional community, nor is the family [familie], the larger group of relatives. Indeed, in contrast with the situation in so many areas of the Outer Provinces, the family has little significance among the Javanese. Of much greater importance for [106] the Javanese is the dèsa, the native community

1:Adkema & Bezemer--524 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
New Guinea OJ1
Sumatra OD1
Atjehnese OD4
Bali OF7
Buru OH8

I 585 Naturally, feasts are also held as part of the program for celebrating the marriage alliance. Mohammedan law recommends holding such walimat-al-'oer, or wedding-feasts, and, therefore, among the Mohammedan peoples they have a religious character, although it can be assumed that the custom was general before the arrival of Islam.

A S 585 [537] Long speeches at such festivities are noted particularly on Sumatra, the island where most of the inhabitants are born orators and are very fond of oratory. A peculiarity of this nature is found on Atjeh where a kind of competition in eloquence in pantoen form is held between one of the elders from the gampōng (village) of the bride and a village elder from the gampōng of the bridegroom. The latter is taken in procession to the house of the bride, but when they reach the yard of her dwelling, he is kept in the background by his entourage. The dialogue, in pantoen form, consists of urgent invitations to enter from the host party, which are answered by polite expressions indicating that it is quite satisfactory remaining in the yard, until the party yields, as it were, before the stream of eloquence and enters.

Br Bl I ●583 [671] Abduction as a way to marriage, a way that is sometimes permitted by the adat, for example, on Bali, and is more or less legitimate, has already been mentioned in Chapter 2. Abduction also occurs as a ceremony in connection with the marriage, but evidently more as a formality, perhaps as a survival of actual abduction that did take place at one time. On Buru, for instance, mock fights are staged for the possession of the bride or to prevent the bridegroom in any way possible from entering the house of the bride or taking her away. Concerning the Papuans N 583 of Misool (west of New Guinea) Robidé van der Aa (1) says:

1. Reizen naar Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea [Journeys to Netherlands New Guinea], p. 149.

"Among the mountain dwellers it is customary for a father to abduct a girl for his son, after which he informs her parents of

Kei OH13 Redjang-Lampong OD12
Gorontdo OG14 Nias OD11
Timor OF20 Batak OD5
Bali OF7 Malays AN5

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2,000 guilders; among the Batak from 50 to 500 guilders; on the Kei Islands (2) from 50 to 100 reals, among the Niassans

2. Van Rosenberg, Reis naar de Zuid-Ooster-eilanden, p. 78.

from 100 to 2,000 guilders (3). Besides the standing of the bride,

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3. Van Rosenberg, Malayische Archipel, p. 155.

the size of the bride price also depends on whether she is still a virgin or has already been married. For example, on Nias widows are worth only half as much (4). Youth and beauty are

4. Van Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 156.

also considered, of course, in some cases. In general there is much haggling over fixing the bride price, as there is over any transaction. Everything depends on whether there are gifted persons to handle the negotiations over the bride price because it is largely a matter of adroitness and fluency. One should not forget, however, that the amount of the bride price as stated is often higher than the amount that is actually paid. The parents of the girl do this, and the bridegroom represents it as such to them so as to increase their prestige. Also it is rarely paid in cash, but usually in goods. For example, where there is live-stock, it is paid in carabao and cattle, otherwise in cloth, dishes, plates, etc. Roko matoro (the name for bride price among the Toumboeloe) also means cloth.

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As a rule the bride price is paid at the celebration of the marriage, and, indeed, the marriage is not considered legally concluded until it has been paid in full. There are often marriages on credit, however, among many peoples the [271] man then comes to live with the parents of his wife until everything is paid, this is the case, for example, among the Timorese,

Minangkabau OD10 Timor OF20
Redjang-Lampong OD12 Bali OF7
Nias OD11 Batak OD5
Malays AN5

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[271 cont.]

with the ambil anak, among the Balinese, etc. Not infrequently the man fails to pay the debt, and lawsuits over it repeatedly occur. Among peoples who are not directly under our authority, even wars between villages are often the consequence of this, for example, among the Batak. It is peculiar, however, that part of the bride price remains unpaid intentionally.

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This is the case among the Malayan population of Palembang, among the Batak, etc. The bride price here, more than elsewhere, has the character of detaching the woman from her relatives. Once the bride price has been paid in full, the woman is detached from her family permanently. Now it shows good breeding to leave a part of the bride price unpaid as a certain bond between the two families. This is called tali-kulo. Kulo is bride price, but here it is very definitely the Minangkabau pronunciation of the Sanskrit kula = family, which also occurs in kulawarga, blood relative. Tali-kulo is thus the same as family bond, and as long as this tali-kulo exists, the woman is not completely detached from her relatives; they retain the right to interfere in her affairs and those of her children. As well as among the Minangkabau Malays, who are an outstanding example of this, it is also found among the Batak and many other peoples.

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As we have said, the bride price goes to the parents of the woman, not to the bride herself. This distinguishes it from the mahr or mas or sri kawin. As a rule, however, the other relatives of the bride also receive some of the bride price. On the other hand, the bridegroom is helped not only by his parents but also by his more distant relatives in raising the bride price.

It is generally said that bride price stands in the way of concluding marriages and consequently of increasing the population. I do not believe that this can be set up as a general rule. It cannot be denied that there are peoples among whom the conclusion of marriage is hindered by an exceedingly high bride price, for example, among the [272] Lampong (1), the Redjang (2),

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1. Ind. Gids, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 978-979.

[278 cont.]

4. Veth, Java, Vol. I, pp. 363, 629.

marriages must have arisen under the influence of abduction. This explanation is confirmed by the fact that where abduction occurs de facto, child-marriages often take place for the purpose [279] of preventing abduction by force, for example, among the Balinese, the Lampong, the Dajak, etc. (1). The fact that

1. Wilken, op. cit., p. 627.

the practice also occurs where there is no longer any abduction, as among the Javanese, the Alfoer of the Minahasa, etc., does not militate against this proposition. Abduction may not have continued, but child-marriage itself remained in existence. For that matter, child-marriage is no longer binding in the Minahasa, thus is passing away.

As is shown in the case of abduction, marriages can be concluded against the wishes of the parents; the wishes of the children, not only of the boys but also of the girls, play a primary role with regard to marriage. Indeed, if the parents wanted to force their daughter into a marriage, she can have herself abducted by her beloved and thus escape the fate of a undesired marriage. We can therefore say that among the various peoples where abduction is a lawful form of marriage the girls have more power in giving their hand, taking the degree of development into consideration, than one might superficially expect. It is the rule that before making the proposal the young man convinces himself of the girl's affection by sending her areca or asking her for it. In fact love tokens are customarily exchanged between the young people before the parents became involved in the matter. Marriages in the archipelago are generally contracted out of affection, even where the woman is sold. Of course, there are exceptions to this rule, particularly where there is no abduction. Among the Malays of the Padang Highlands, for example, most marriages are arranged by the respective parents, without

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OBI Indonesia OBI
Land Dyak OC8
Bali OF7
Borneo OC1

woman, who does not belong to the "marga" in the Lontung group from which he is supposed to take his wife, the "marga" adopts the desired woman for this purpose. The adoption of girls occurs among the Semendoëans, or among the Langak Dyaks and Tajan Dyaks of Borneo in order to have a daughter who can administer the nuclear property (see p. 197); this gives her a place above the sons in the family.

In Bali and the Great East, a father adopts a man, who then marries his foster-father's daughter. This is closest to adoption marriage without adoption. It is usually unmarried children who are adopted. Adoption is usually done by married persons, who are old enough to be the parents of the foster child, but in Bali, adoption by unmarried persons occasionally takes place.

In principle, annulment of an adoption is possible in all situations, which permit the expulsion of a child. (See p. 154.) It can also be done in Bali for a number of other reasons leading to dissatisfaction. It is possible, too, in Borneo, but only on payment of high damages.

We should also make note of the fact that in Bali only a son can receive the estate of his father and continue his position as head of a family. If there are no sons, a boy can be adopted, either by the man, in anticipation of death, or by his widow, after the event. But instead of doing this, the father may raise a daughter to the position of "sentana," or succeeding heir. This confers the rights and duties of an eldest son on her. Such a girl can marry only in accordance with the adoptive marriage form, and her husband is then called "sentana tarakan."

Finally, there is the legal act by which a father obtains the transfer of one or two of his children from their mother's clan (to which they belong because of adoptive marriage) to his own. This transfer results because a traditionally fixed payment was made at the time of the marriage or in consequence of a later payment. It is in effect a cash transaction.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia Ot 1
Borneo OC1 Redjang-Lampong OD12
Bali OF7 Celebes OG1

drawn-out affairs, so that it is impossible to state at just what point marriage as such begins. It includes such acts as the giving of certain wedding presents, the parade of the bridegroom and his retinue to the home of the bride, carrying all sorts of goods, the ceremonial meeting of the bridal couple, sacrifices and incantations, eating together, which is the renewal of contact with the vital powers, the payment of the bride-price and coition. Islamic and Christian law, on the other hand, recognize a particular moment at which the marriage is accomplished.

b. *Marriage by elopement.*—Elopement, without a formal engagement or proposal, is common in the areas of patrilineal systems. But it also occurs in bilateral, and even matrilineal, regions. Its aim is to avoid the obligations which an engagement brings about. And, of course, it gets around the meddling and opposition of parents and relatives. Actually, however, the relatives do not always disapprove of elopement.

The elopers leave a letter, or some piece of goods, or a bit of money at the girl's house. Then they take to a place of refuge in the home of a relative or village chief. With the marriage treated as a *fait accompli* (even though sexual cohabitation may be postponed), negotiations over the bride-price are undertaken. In some instances, as among the matrilineal Rebangans in the Lampongs, and some Dyak tribes, the marriage can still be opposed by the girl's family in spite of the elopement. For the couple have to live with her folks. Elopement usually lowers the cost of the usual marriage payments. But in Bali, as one example, the bride-price remains as high as ever, and in the Lampong area an additional payment is demanded.

In South Celebes elopment is an offense contrary to adat law. Marriage is possible only on reconciliation with the girl's family. It may be a long time before reconciliation is attained and marriage in accordance with Mohammedan forms is fulfilled. Therefore, the status of the elopers is legally recognized in certain aspects of the rights of children born or conceived before the marriage is completed.

c. *Marriage by abduction.*—This can mean one of two things. It can refer to actual abduction of a woman against her will. Or it can refer to absconding with a girl engaged or married to someone else. This is reported from Borneo, for example. The absconder has to pay the usual marriage costs, plus damages to the offended male. Abduction marriage, in the first sense, occurs in the Lampongs and in Bali. The line between elopement and abduction is frequently

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Celebes OG1
Batak OD5
Bali OF7

hard to determine, but when it really is a case of abduction, the abductor may be killed, if he is overtaken before he reaches the place of asylum with his prize. If he succeeds in his venture, the ceremonies of offering the bride-price take place, especially if the couple have had intercourse. The successive steps in the procedure follow the same pattern as in marriage by elopement. In this case, the value of the payments is usually high.

In South Celebes elopement is apparently simply called abduction, because it always calls out violent opposition from the girl's family. They have the right to kill the man.

2. MARITAL FORMS

The relation between the form of marriage and the prevailing kinship system has been discussed at a number of previous points, but now needs to be examined in detail. First, it should be noted that throughout the Archipelago, an exchange of presents is apparently a universal feature of marriage. Marriage without an adat payment is either a special form, like adoptive marriage, or else a rare exception—an unusual deviation or the result of Christian influence.

Among the various forms of marriage, the most important basis of distinction is between marriages consistent with either patriarchy or matriarchy. In the patriarchal type, the woman is released from her group of kinsmen and passes over to her husband's kin group as a person allied by marriage, and the children belong to the father's clan. This is the sole type of marriage among the Toba-Bataks, for example. In the matriarchal type, on the other hand, the woman remains in her group of relatives and the husband in his and the children belong to the mother's clan. This is the sole type among the Minangkabauans. The patriarchal type of marriage is always linked with marriage payments, which serve to make the transfer of the woman possible and to remove her and her children from her clan. In Bali, the payments remove her from the power of her domestic gods. Thus there is a double character to this form of marriage. From one viewpoint, the woman and the presents are a central part of the exchange system between clans, which keeps everything going. From the other viewpoint, the exchange is the magical means of releasing the woman and effecting her transfer and that of her children, without disturbing the social equilibrium and the balance of the cosmos.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Redjang-Lampong OD12
Bali OF7
Sumba OF17

Matriarchal marriage is also associated with gift exchanges. But in this situation the woman is not a part of the exchange of valuables. She is not released from her group by the receipt of the gifts. Thus the exchange of gifts is of secondary importance in matrilineally organized societies.

a. *Bride-price.*—As a technical concept of adat law, bride-price involves payments from the man's family to the girl's with the object of incorporating her into the husband's sub-clan, and her children, too. Presents, or any other marriage gifts, which have a different effect must be called something other than bride-price. Bride-price, in a patriarchal system, is therefore a cash transaction. (See p. 105.)

Adoptive marriage is a contrasting form that takes place within the patrilineal framework. Its purpose is to adopt a son-in-law into the clan of his wife, so that the wife's father gets a "son" and his daughter's children belong to his clan, so to continue his line, and not the erstwhile clan of the son-in-law. (See p. 156.) In scattered instances we have reports of the release of the husband by his clan to his wife's in a manner similar to that which occurs in a transfer based on bride-price: a bridegroom price. These examples come from Bali and Sumba. Sometimes there is a formal adoption of the groom into the bride's patrilineal clan. (See p. 161.) However, the general practice is to admit the husband into the bride's patrilineal clan without calling for any payments. Nor does it matter, if the husband is an alien, or not.

On page 156, we explained how the regular occurrence of bride-price with adoptive marriage results in the development of an alternating unilateral kinship system, while adoptive marriage, as a regular form, produces a matrilineal system. This is not to maintain, however, that matrilineal systems always originate in this way. But it would seem to be the case in Saparua and among the matrilineal Semindoëans of Palembang, who are descended from the patrilineal Pasemahans.

There is but little difference between marriages based on cash bride-price and marriage with postponed payment, coupled with suitor service. In this type of marriage, man and wife cohabit, and the husband works for his wife's family until the bride-price is satisfied.

Also similar are exchange marriage, in which dowry and bride-price cancel each other.

And finally, a marriage in which a man takes the widow of his

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Bali OF7
Redjang-Lampong OD12
Gorontalo O64
Atjehnese OD4

the upper classes. To what extent the rates fixed by the princes or the Government have been effective is uncertain.

Certain portions of the bride-price are almost always ear-marked for certain groups of the girl's relatives. They remove the girl from each of her relationships with her kinsmen, and they specifically compensate their loss. They may also be said to be given for "the ascension of the ladder," or "binder of the families," or "in place of the knife which cut her umbilical." The amount of bride-price always varies in accordance with the social status of the woman. (See p. 57.) Even in places where class distinctions are slight, poor people must not pay more, or receive more than is their customary sum. That would be an unwarranted invasion of the rights of the higher classes. Such would endanger the stability of the community.

Usually, a girl's bride-price is fixed as equal to the sum paid for her mother. The price for a maiden always exceeds that of a divorcee or widow. When a marriage involving a new inter-clan relation is being arranged among unilateral people, the price is much higher than ordinarily.

When the old-time items, such as heads and slaves, called for in bride-price become unobtainable, or the bride-price has risen all out of proportion to economic possibilities, the old items and amounts are called for *in words*, but are replaced by objects of lesser value or by cash.

Bride-price following abduction is higher than normal. After an elopement it is usually lower, although sometimes it is higher.

Who gets the bride-price together, and who receives it, depends on the nature of the society. Sometimes a large group of relatives, perhaps the entire clan or tribe, contributes. But sometimes it is only the parents of the boy. In many tribes, contribution gives the right to share in the enjoyment of the bride-price received and to demand aid in payment of bride-price when the time comes. This is also a phase of clan interaction.

Bride-price has social significance beyond the mere legal consequence of change in the woman's status and the inclusion of the ensuing children in the husband's kin group. The requirement of a refund, if the marriage breaks up, lends great strength to the marital bond.

In the Pasemah and in Bali part of the bride-price may be returned to the giver. This is also customary among the Atjehnese for the marriage portion, and it also takes place among the Minahasans and others. Some Dyak tribes, and in Pasemah, Halmahera, Timor,

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Redjang-Lampong OD12 Minangkabau OD10
Sumba OF17
Bali OF7

f. *Matrilineal marriage.*—A marriage in a matrilineal system is not coupled with such payments as bride-price or marriage portion. The husband remains in his own kin group. But as an individual allied by marriage (urang sumando in Minangkabau) he is admitted to association with his wife's family. At the conclusion of the marriage, he is fetched from his home, where a brief ritual of release takes place, and he is forthwith brought "home," i.e., to the household of his wife.

g. *Adoptive marriage.*—Adoptive marriage has already been mentioned a number of times (pp. 58, 156, 159, 169). In such marriages,[7] the biological relation of child to mother attains a social meaning such as is generally associated structurally with the relationship to the father. Among some peoples the spouse is frequently chosen from a lower class or an alien group, but in general the choice is taken from within the same tribe and class. Rarely, we find reports about a payment, which releases the man from his kin group, as the payment of a thousand doits or a pillow and rice (as in Bali) or the payment for a man who is transferred from his "kabisu" (clan) to that of his wife in Sumba.

Among the Pepadon groups in the Lampongs, an adat dignitary (penjimbang), whose head wife (bini ratu) has produced only daughters, can maintain his position for his own family line by having his daughters undertake an adoptive marriage. This may take several forms. First, the chief's nephew marries his daughter and becomes a son-in-law; as such he gets the chief's position and inheritance and passes them on to his son. Second, an outsider may be adopted into the chief's family, marry the girl, and carry out these functions as a son-in-law. Third, the husband may transfer into his wife's family, but he gets his father-in-law's status and inheritance only in the sense that he administers it for his wife and son. Fourthly, the husband does not transfer into the wife's family, except insofar as he is admitted as the procreator of offspring. In only one group [among the Pepadons], the Sewo Mego, is the marriage of cousins blocked by exogamy.

In the case of the lower classes, where inheritance is the sole concern, similar possibilities exist, but under different names.

In Bali, too, when a man has daughters, but no sons, there are the two basic arrangements: adoption of the son-in-law as the bearer

[7] This type of marriage is called "anggap" (Gayo), "semendo ambil," "anaq," "nangkon," "tjambur sumbai," *etc.* (South Sumatra), "kawin ambil piara" (Ambon), and "nyeburin" (Bali).

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Bali OF7 Minangkabau OD10
Reljang-Lampong OD12
Toradja OC11
Batak OD5

of the rights, and his inclusion only as the procreator of the daughter's progeny.

Conversion of an adoptive marriage into a bride-price marriage or a bilateral one is possible in South Sumatra, for example.

The adoption of a girl into her husband's family, when the inheritance of heirlooms must be through a daughter, is reported as "semendo-ngankit" marriage from the Semendo region of South Sumatra. It also appears on the frontiers of the Minangkabau-Mandailing territory. Here a man, whose family has run out of women through whom the lineage must be continued, pays a bride-price for a Batak woman, whom he then adopts into his Minangkabauan family.

3. CHILD MARRIAGE

Marriages between biologically immature children are permissible under adat law in most law-areas. They are absent in some places, however, as in Korinchi, on Roti, and among the Torajas. In Bali, marriage of a pre-adolescent girl is punishable.

Mohammedanism sets up no objection to child marriages. Commonly, in child marriages the Mohammedan marriage takes place first, and the marriage in accordance with adat law takes place only when cohabitation is possible. The great weight which kin groups place on the bond established through marriage makes it understandable that even unborn children may be promised to a desirable partner and are bound in marriage when very young.

When the natives accept Christianity, it is a different thing. Nubility is required for marriage. Article 4 of the Staatsblad, 1933, No. 74, of the Regulation for Christian Natives of Java, Ambon and Minahasa formulates the same requirement.

In child marriage neither party is full-grown. This must be kept distinct from the kind of marriage in which the husband moves into the girl's household and works for his parents-in-law, but postpones marital cohabitation with his girl-wife until she is of age.

4. POLYGYNY

Marriage to several wives at the same time is permissible among most of the Indonesians, but it is rare for the great mass of the people. It is common only among the higher classes.

Prohibition of polygyny is infrequent. The Tnganan Pagringsingan of Bali are one people who do not countenance it.

Acceptance of Christianity entails monogamy, and monogamy is

become stronger than those which are based on extended family ties (p. 191). The children's right to inherit *ab intestato* the household goods as a whole arises through the practice of settlement.

The right of the children to inherit from both parents is a feature of the parental relationship both in the bilateral tribal organization (Dyak and Toraja) as well as that which results from the splitting up of larger relationship groups into families, as in Java.

In case of unilateral relationships, as was remarked above, there are two obstacles to the children inheriting from both parents. In the first place, children do not inherit from the parent, who remains a member of the family complex to which the children do not belong. For example: in Minangkabau where the children belong to the sub-clan of the mother, while the father has no part therein but remains attached to his own relationship group, the child's intestate right of succession to the goods of the father is excluded. The practice of settlement corrects this exclusion, while shifting of the social circumstances can partly or entirely annul it. Where daughters inherit the goods of their mother, and sons those of their father, as on Savu, the impediment can also be overcome by settlements. For example, the father can use his "pusaka" goods, which his daughter can never have the right to inherit, to settle (haru kaballa) a garden upon her and her female descendants.

Secondly, an entirely different obstacle to inheritance from their parents by children in unilateral relationship systems flows from the form of marriage consummated. As a result of strict bride-purchase, the bride, and in certain forms of adoptive marriage, the groom is cut loose from his community of relatives. This is the case among the Pepadon groups in the Lampongs. Among the Toba-Bataks, the daughter always withdraws from her father's family at marriage, with the result that she has no claim as a rightful heir in intestate succession—no more, for instance, than a married daughter has a claim to a part of her father's estate in Bali. The practice of settlement before, at, or after her marriage, corrects this exclusion. Even among the Toba-Bataks, although the daughter is not entitled to succession, she can ask for certain portions of the estate, on offering a feast with due attention to the prescribed forms of adat etiquette, and the sons or other relatives inheriting cannot refuse the request if it is at all reasonable.

In the group of children legally entitled to inherit, there is a differentiation in various law-areas which is tied up with the undis-